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## Peasant Families in Northern Russia: Nineteenth-Century Regional Patterns

Matti Polla \*

**Abstract:** »Bäuerliche Familien im Norden Russlands: regionale Muster im 19. Jahrhundert«. In the light of case studies on Central Russia, with its accent on handicrafts and migrant wage-earning, and the agrarian provinces of the south, scholars interested in the peasant family are inclined to speak of two regional models. This paper considers household arrangements in 10 northern-Russian communities in the 1830s and 1890s, drawing particular attention to the combinations of living arrangements with economic and institutional frameworks. By combining the findings with data on the economic areas of the Northern Region, it is possible to formulate a picture of the geographical distribution of living arrangements in these two periods. In addition to family systems that existed elsewhere in European Russia, evidence is also found for two previously undescribed patterns.

### I. Introduction

Although a considerable amount of quantitative research into European peasant families took place during the last third of the twentieth century,<sup>1</sup> there was relatively little methodologically sound microstructural research into conditions

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Wall, Tamara K. Hareven and Josef Ehmer (Eds.), *Family history revisited*, Newark, 2001, p. 11; David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (Eds.), *Family life in the long nineteenth century 1789-1913*, New Haven, 2002, p. X.

in Russia<sup>2</sup> by comparison with the large amount of work devoted to the Baltic provinces belonging to the Russian Empire and to Finland.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the main reason why American and western European historians discussing the peasant family in Russia have made only limited use of Russian research into this topic is the incompatibility of the methods used and the principal concepts applied. Russian research has for a long time been concentrated on the family, although this cannot be unambiguously defined on the basis of the demographic sources. In addition, the word family in itself is imprecise and poorly suited as a unit of scientific description. Thus the household has become accepted as the unit for quantitative studies of the history of the family, as it is more clearly definable.<sup>4</sup> Scholars working outside Russia tend to rely almost exclusively on Laslett-Hammel household classification scheme, the main structural principle of which is the conjugal family unit (CFU) characterized by the existence of a husband-wife or parent-child relationship. The position of any household in this scheme can be defined according to whether it contains one or more CFUs and if more than one, what relationship exists between them.<sup>5</sup> A number of family-based typologies were developed by Soviet historians in the 1970s and 1980s in which the structural criterion was the married couple,<sup>6</sup> but in view of the methodological weaknesses inherent in the Soviet

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<sup>2</sup> Michael Mitterauer and Aleksander Kagan, "Russian and Central European family structures", *Journal of Family History*, 7, 1982; Peter Czap, "The perennial multiple-family household, Mishino, Russia, 1782-1858", *Journal of Family History*, 7 1982; *Ibid.*, "A large family: the peasant's greatest wealth", in: Richard Wall, Jean Robin and Peter Laslett (Eds.), *Family forms in historic Europe*, Cambridge, 1983; Rodney D. Bohac, *Family, property, and socioeconomic mobility: Russian peasants on Manuylovskoe estate, 1810-1861*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1982; *Ibid.*, "Peasant inheritance strategies in Russia" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16, 1985; Steven L. Hoch, *Serfdom and social control in Russia*, Chicago, 1986; Edgar Melton, "Proto-industrialization, serf agriculture and agrarian social order", *Past and Present*, 115, 1987; Christine D. Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, Princeton, NJ, 1991, p. 112; John Bushnell, "Did serf owners control serf marriage?", *Slavic Review*, 52, 1994; Daniel H. Kaiser, "Vozrast pri brake v gorodakh Rossii v nachale XVIII v", in: L.V. Cherepnin (Ed.), *Sosloviya i gosudarstvennaya vlast v Rossii*, Moscow, 1994; Herdis Kolle, *The Russian post-emancipation household*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Bergen, 1995; R.E. Johnson, "Family life-cycles and economic stratification", *Journal of Social History*, 30, 1997; Tracy K. Dennison, *Economy and society in rural Russia*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2003; *Ibid.*, "Serfdom and social structure in central Russia: Voshchazhnikovo, 1816-1858", *Continuity and Change*, 18, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> See Andrejs Plakans, "Agrarian reform and the family in eastern Europe", in: Kertzer and Barbagli (Eds.), *Family life in 1789-1913*; Karl Kaser, "Power and inheritance", *The History of the Family*, 7, 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Wall, "Introduction", in: Wall, Robin and Laslett (Eds.), *Family forms in historic Europe*, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> E.A. Hammel and Peter Laslett, "Comparing household structure over time and between cultures", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16, 1974.

<sup>6</sup> cf. David Moon, *The Russian peasantry 1600-1930*, Harlow, 1999, p. 159; V.L. Nosevich, *Traditsionnaya belorusskaya derevnya*, Minsk, 2004, p. 47.

approaches, some Russian historians in the 1990s also adopted Laslett-Hammel classification scheme.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of the small amount of research carried out, two general descriptions of the Russian family in the nineteenth century were produced just a few years ago. David Moon employed case studies, aggregate statistics and contemporary descriptions to reduce the diversity of family life to two models.<sup>8</sup>

European Russia in the early part of the century was dominated by large households comprising at least two CFUs at all phases in their developmental cycle. Division took place on the death of the old head of the household and was conditional upon both of the resulting households possessing at least two CFUs. This model has been described in the context of case studies in the southern provinces, but its occurrence in given communities was not bound to their geographical location as such. Meanwhile a form of organization in which a high level of complexity was maintained from one generation to the next was characteristic of the serf communities that were engaged in labour service. This model, which was the only one observed in the south, also prevailed in Central Russia, where the population engaged in non-agrarian activities as well as agriculture, but alongside such arrangements another model was present in the region, in which the multiple family structure was one stage in the development of the household and division took place predominantly pre mortem. The predominant model underwent certain changes following the abolition of serfdom in 1861, however, so that during the post-emancipation period pre-mortem household division was possible alongside the predominant post-mortem pattern and the multiple family structure was one stage in household development rather than a permanent situation. Thus the model that had previously played a minority role in Central Russia now gained a firmer footing.<sup>9</sup> It should be noted, however, that Moon had access to only one piece of research dealing with Northern Russia.

In the second work that touched upon peasant families, B.N. Mironov traced temporal changes in household size on the basis of statistics covering whole provinces and arrived at similar conclusions to those of Moon.<sup>10</sup> In the case of Northern Russia, however, these relied on statistics for the province of Perm,

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<sup>7</sup> I.I. Vernyaev, *Krestyansky sotsium Pskova v XIX v.*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, St. Petersburg State University, 1999; A. Blum, I. Troitskaya and A. Avdeyev, "Family, marriage and social control in Russia", in: Muriel Neven (Ed.), *Family structures, demography and population*, Liège, 2000; M.K. Akolzhina, "Gorodskaya semya Tambova, 1816-1910" in: V.V. Kanishchev (Ed.), *Sotsialnaya istoriya rossiiskoy provintsii, Tambov*, 2002; R.B. Konchakov, "The peasant family in Tambov, 1800-1917" in: Pim Kooij, (Ed.), *Where the twain meet again*, Groningen, 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Moon, *Russian peasantry*, p. 164, 177, 178.

<sup>9</sup> Moon, *Russian peasantry*, p. 164, 178.

<sup>10</sup> B.N. Mironov and Ben Eklof, *A social history of Imperial Russia*, 1, Boulder, 2000, p. 124, 134.

which belonged to the Northern Urals economic region in spite of its northerly location and therefore cannot be regarded as representative of Northern Russia.

Figure 1: Location of the local communities studied in Northern Russia\*



\* The division of the area into provinces corresponds to the situation around 1900. The sample representing Kostroma is not marked on the map. The nationality of the community is mentioned whenever it is not a question of ethnic Russians.

Local communities in Northern Russia:

1. Akkala (two villages), Archangel province, Lapps
2. Alekino (village), Vologda province
3. Kolezhma (village), Archangel province
4. Luza (three parishes), Vologda province, Komi or Zyryans
5. Oulanka (parish), Archangel province, Karelians
6. Paanajarvi (parish), Archangel province, Karelians
7. Rukajarvi (parish), Olonets province, Karelians
8. Selki (village), Olonets province, Karelians
9. Suysar Severnaya (village), Olonets province
10. Vuokkiniemi (parish), Archangel province, Karelians

Local communities in Central Russia:

11. Manuylovskoe (estate), Tver province
12. Voshchazhnikovo (estate), Yaroslavl province

Abbreviations for the provinces of Northern and Central Russia:

Kal – Kaluga; Kost – Kostroma; Mos – Moscow; Nizh – Nizhny Novgorod; Olon – Olonets; Psk – Pskov; StP – St Petersburg; Vlad – Vladimir; Yaro – Yaroslavl

An attempt is made here to create a comprehensive picture of household arrangements on the basis of data for 10 northern local communities over the periods 1811-1840 and 1873-1905. It is important when dealing with this topic to remember that far-reaching economic and social changes took place in Russia in the interval between the agrarian reforms of 1861 and 1905.<sup>11</sup> Thus it is obvious that individual communities will have varied in their means of livelihood, land use and the juridical status of their inhabitants between 1873 and 1905. On the other hand, in order to accomplish the purpose of describing the household arrangements of the post-emancipation period it is essential to treat the data as a consistent body of material, in spite of the fact that this fails to do justice to the internal dynamics of the period.

## II. Methodological issues

When speaking of a family system, we shall be referring here to an entity that comprises the household and marriage arrangements typical of a certain population at a certain time and all the phenomena connected with these. The assumption is that it is possible to create a picture of this complex system that is reliable and accurately measurable, so that it fulfils the demands of comparability. In order to create a reliable picture of this complex system it is also necessary to determine the economic and institutional frameworks that affected the way of life of the community concerned in a wider perspective. The present author has set out his detailed scheme for examining a family system in earlier connections,<sup>12</sup> so that only the most essential aspects of this approach will be explained below.

This paper employs a number of terms that are widely used in research into the history of the family, although they may mean slightly different things for different scholars. It is therefore necessary to explain the sense in which they will be used in this paper, in order to understand the distinctions to be made by the present author. Household arrangements refer primarily to statistical measures such as mean household size (MHS) or household structure. This is in effect a concise concept for the strategies by which peasants attempt to ensure the vitality of their household under certain conditions in the long term. At the core of these we find marriage behaviour and the family life course, the examination of which allows us to deduce the household formation system and mar-

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<sup>11</sup> N.V. Riasanovsky, *A history of Russia*. New York, 1993, p. 378; Timo Vihavainen, *The inner adversary*. Washington DC, 2006, p. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Matti Polla, "Characteristics of the family system in a nineteenth-century Russian community", *Continuity and Change*, 19, 2004, p. 218; *Ibid.*, "Family systems in Central Russia in the 1830s and 1890s", *The History of the Family* 11, 2006, p. 28.

riage pattern. Marriage behaviour and the family life course do not themselves belong directly to the household arrangements, however, although a description of them serves as a necessary background for examining the statistical measures.<sup>13</sup>

The expression "household arrangements" will be used here as a very general cover term for all the aspects of family life to be studied, so that it may appear as a synonym for "family system" in spite of the difference in content between the two. This difference may perhaps be illustrated best by the following assertions. A family system is always internally coherent, which does not necessarily apply to household arrangements. Thus the household arrangements of a geographically and temporally delimited community may include more than one family system.

Data from earlier microstructural investigations into household arrangements in certain local communities are presented in Table 1 (see appendix), not all the attributes listed in Table 1 are of equal importance, however, as the following may be deemed to carry particular weight in the present context. The principal factors contributing to the above complex system are: the manner of formation of a new household; frequency of marriage; mean age at marriage; proportion of households comprising more than two generations; proportion of households lacking a conjugal family unit; proportion of multiple family households; mean household size; predominant timing of household division; and the nature of the multiple family structure, i.e. its permanence or recurrence as one phase in the household developmental cycle. Factors illustrative of the way of life of a given community are listed in Table 2 (see appendix). Of the qualitatively defined features, particular attention should be paid to: sources of income, land ownership and land use, level of social stratification, level of occupational specialization, and the juridical status of the population. By examining household arrangements and their economic and institutional frameworks, it is possible to deduce what types of communities were characterized by particular combinations of these. The conclusions from this will then be related to data on the juridical status, social structure and economic activities of the populations in the various parts of Northern Russia, with the aim of demonstrating what household arrangements prevailed in the region over the periods 1811-1840 and 1873-1905.

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<sup>13</sup> cf. Peter Laslett, "Introduction" in: Wall, Robin and Laslett (Eds.), *Family forms in historic Europe*, p. 23, 39; Tamara K. Hareven, "The history of the family and the complexity of social change", *The American Historical Review*, 96, 1991, p. 107, 115; *Ibid.*, "The impact of family history and the life course on social history", in: Wall, Hareven and Ehmer (Eds.), *Family history revisited*, p. 25; Richard L. Rudolph, "The European family and economy", *Journal of Family History*, 17, 1992, p. 121.

### III. Household arrangements in the 1830s

The ethnic Russians formed the majority of the population of three northern provinces, Archangel, Olonets and Vologda, although admittedly there were other ethnic groups in the western and eastern parts of the region.<sup>14</sup> The delimitation employed here is not based on nationality, however, but on the assignment of the provinces to a particular economic region. On the other hand, the northern provinces of Perm and Vyatka are excluded from consideration, as they belong to the Northern Urals, which differed in economic structure from Northern Russia. Unlike the situation in Southern and Central Russia, there were few serf estates in the north, and state peasants made up over two-thirds of the peasant population throughout the region.<sup>15</sup> In addition, all the members of the local communities examined in this section were juridically state peasants.

South of the Northern Region lay the Northwestern Region, surrounding St. Petersburg, and the Central Industrial Region, centred on Moscow. These two regions are together referred to below as Central Russia, the individual provinces of which are named in Figure 1. Data on household arrangements in Central Russia are also presented in Tables 1 and 2 and Figures 2 and 3. Inclusion of this material in the present paper has made it possible to combine the findings on the Northern Region with broader developmental trends in European Russia as a whole.

Before we turn to the case studies representing the Northern Region, it is necessary to return for a moment to the views expressed in earlier works regarding household arrangements in Southern and Central Russia. The communities of Southern Russia that have been studied to date represent the idealized type developed by Moon in which the household retained its complex structure from one generation to the next,<sup>16</sup> while the same pattern occurred in many places in Central Russia, implying socially homogeneous communities with a low degree of occupational differentiation. More detailed descriptions of this model are available for Manuylovskoe in Tver province, and consequently data on this serf estate are included in Tables 1 and 2.

Central Russia is also represented in the tables by Voshchazhnikovo in Yaroslavl province, where the serfs practised activities that called for more advanced skills and the community was socially stratified to a marked extent. In the light of the tables Voshchazhnikovo is far removed from being an agrarian community. The case studies applying to Central Russia combined with the data on principal sources of income and social structure in individual provinces led the present author to conclude in an earlier paper that there were numerous

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<sup>14</sup> Seppo Lallukka, "Finno-ugrians of Russia", *Nationalities Papers*, 29, 2001, p. 9.

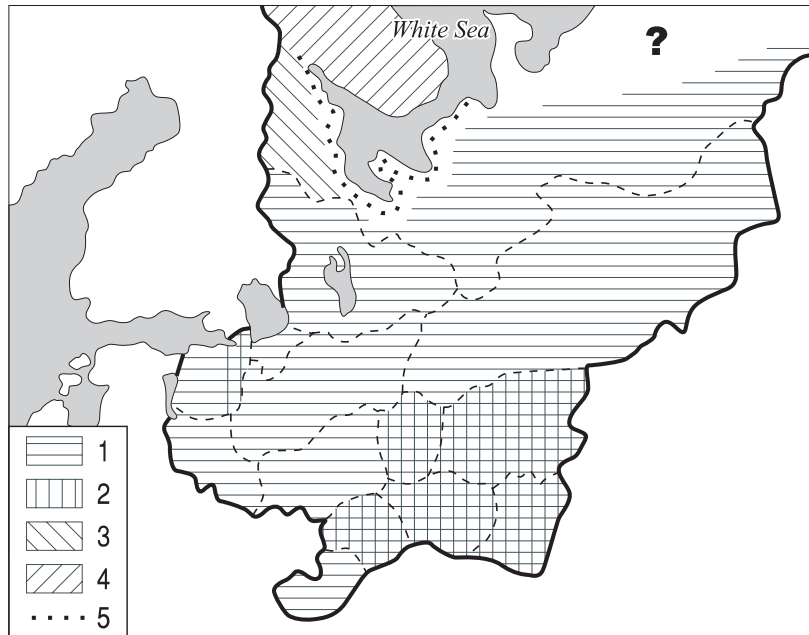
<sup>15</sup> V.M. Kabuzan, *Izmeneniya v razmeshchenii naseleniya*, Moscow, 1971, p. 167.

<sup>16</sup> cf. Czap, "A large family"; Hoch, *Serfdom*; Konchakov, "The peasant family".



communities of the kind represented by Voshchazhnikovo in the Central Industrial Region in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Data on the geographical distribution of the types of household arrangements based on that previous work are presented here in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Geographical distribution of family systems in the 1830s



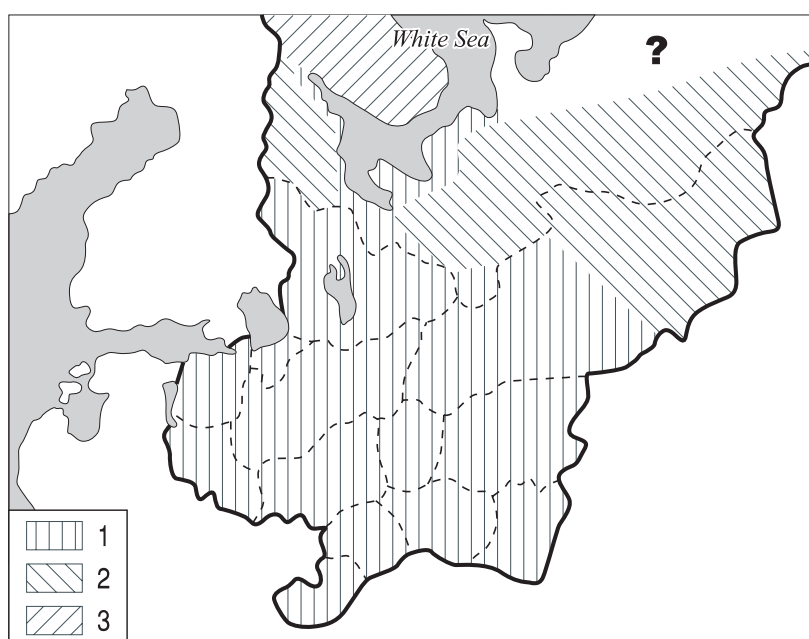
- 1-agrarian-oriented family system
- 2-handicrafts, trade and suburban family system
- 3-agricultural, migrant labour and hunting family system
- 4-hunting and fishing family system
- 5-household arrangements characteristic of the Arctic Ocean coast

Northern Russia is represented in Table 2 by eight local communities. The household arrangements in Luza parish in Vologda province were similar to those of the serfs of Manuylovskoe. The researcher responsible for the description of this community used a classification in which only some of the households containing two or more married couples were regarded as complex in structure, so that in reality more than 45.5% of the Luza households must have been of the multiple family type. Other characteristics of this community were the formation of new households through the division of existing ones, a MHS

<sup>17</sup> Polla, "Family systems", p. 40.

of 8.5 persons, a high frequency of post-mortem divisions, and preservation of the multiple family structure from one generation to the next in some households. It is not known whether the inhabitants of Luza belonged formally to a redistributive commune, but their principal source of income was the labour-intensive practice of slash-and-burn agriculture, which required short-term use of privately owned patches of land. They also obtained part of their income from hunting.<sup>18</sup> In spite of the distinctive features of the local economy, the five known attributes of the household arrangements in Luza identify these with the serf community of Manuylovskoe. It will be possible to return to the question of how common living arrangements of the kind observed at Luza were in Northern Russia in general when we have looked at the other local communities.

Figure 3: Geographical distribution of family systems in the 1890s



- 1-handicrafts, trade and suburban family system
- 2-agricultural, migrant labour and hunting family system
- 3-hunting and fishing family system

<sup>18</sup> V.V. Solovyev, "Semiya", in: V.N. Davydov (Ed.), *Voprosy sotsialno-ekonomicheskoy istorii Komi*, Syktyvkar, 1980, p. 38.

The most information is available for Vuokkiniemi parish in Archangel province, that had three features in common with the community of Manuylovskoe and four differences. On the other hand, there are two features for which no reliable information is available: frequency of marriage and mean age at marriage. The same model of household formation applied to both, and was indeed characteristic of all the communities studied. Households without a CFU at all were extremely rare in both communities. Post-mortem household divisions were in the majority in both communities, but formed the exclusive, or virtually exclusive pattern in Manuylovskoe. Pre-mortem divisions were by no means exceptional in Vuokkiniemi, although much rarer than post-mortem ones. The Vuokkiniemi households were markedly smaller than the Manuylovskoe ones.

A statute of 1823 prohibited state peasants from dividing their households without permission from the provincial governor,<sup>19</sup> but although the inhabitants officially accepted the ban, it was difficult to enforce it in such a remote parish. The peddling by which the inhabitants made their living called for well-developed skills and suitable motivation, and as every individual man's contribution to the work was important, households based on some principle other than biological paternity were liable to be divided up.<sup>20</sup> Vuokkiniemi cannot be included under the same pattern as Manuylovskoe. A high age at marriage was typical of both Vuokkiniemi and Voshchazhnikovo. These communities nevertheless differ in the frequency of marriage, the proportions of households without a CFU and of multiple family households and MHS. The fact that no data are available on three of the criteria does not detract from the reliability of such a conclusion. The communities of Oulanka, Paanajarvi and Rukajarvi located less than 100 kilometres from Vuokkiniemi undoubtedly represent the same pattern.

The MHS of 6.8 recorded for the coastal village of Kolehmma places it close to the inland parishes. Here the inhabitants gained their livelihood mostly from sea fishing and the transportation of goods, while some households had specialized in building sailing ships. Only a small proportion of the households were able to fit out from one to three ships for fishing or transport purposes and also traded in fish. A large proportion of the men in the village were employed as hands on ships owned by others.<sup>21</sup> Juridically, the inhabitants of Kolehmma were state peasants, but their way of life differed from that of their counterparts in inland areas by virtue of their economic activities, the existence of an artisan stratum and the advanced degree of social stratification. The monetary economy had not penetrated this community to the same degree as in the Central Industrial Region, however, as labour was paid for in kind rather than in money, and the workers often had to request this payment in advance, on con-

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<sup>19</sup> Moon, *The Russian peasantry*, p. 172.

<sup>20</sup> Polla, "Characteristics", p. 218.

<sup>21</sup> N.A. Korablev, *Pomor'ye v XIX veke*, Petrozavodsk, 1980, p. 68.

ditions dictated by their employers. The proximity of the main town of the district nevertheless meant that the authorities were able to enforce the prohibition on household divisions without permission.

In the socially stratified communities of Central Russia individual wealthy households were able to meet the requirements for a division by employing a recruit from the open market to enter military service on their behalf.<sup>22</sup> No information is available, however, on the extent to which such matters really affected living arrangements in Kolezhma. It is also unclear whether the wealthy sector of the population strove in any way towards demographic behaviour that deviated from that of the majority of state peasants, although the higher risk of death among the sea fishermen relative to persons in other occupations was a factor that promoted large households. The demands of organizing the work also acted in the same direction, as each boat needed 3-4 adult men, preferably members of the same household.<sup>23</sup> Bearing these facts in mind, one could easily imagine the MHS in Kolezhma reaching a higher figure than that actually recorded. The fact that it was lower than in the purely agrarian communities may well be due to the wealthier stratum favouring similar living arrangements to those prevailing among the more prosperous serfs of Voshchazhnikovo.<sup>24</sup>

The village of Suysar Severnaya in Olonets province had the MHS of 5.9 in 1811. This figure differed only slightly from those for the above-mentioned parishes of Oulanka and Rukajarvi. The inhabitants of Suysar Severnaya constituted a special group of state peasants in that their obligations involved work for the state cannon factory 20 kilometres away, in the form of forestry work, the dredging of iron ore from the local lakes and its transportation to the factory and repair work in the factory area. Those performing the obligatory duties did receive a wage for this, again with payment partly made in kind and frequently in advance, which meant that these people frequently suffered from spiralling debts.<sup>25</sup> The way of life of the inhabitants of Suysar Severnaya was comparable to that of the occupationally differentiated and socially stratified communities of Central Russia.

Quite a separate case from all the communities examined above is that of the Akkala Lapps, who lived by fishing and hunting north of the Arctic Circle. They lived in a permanent village only during the winter. Once the snow had melted they set out to circulate from one fishing lake to another. The absence of households without any CFU, the high proportion of multiple family households and the fairly high MHS would justify their inclusion in the same group

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<sup>22</sup> V.A. Fedorov, *Pomeshchichye krestyane XVIII - XIX v.*, Moskva, 1974, p. 241; Dennison, *Economy and society*, p. 92.

<sup>23</sup> T.A. Bernshtam, *Narodnaya kultura Pomorya*, Leningrad, 1983, p. 107.

<sup>24</sup> cf. Dennison, "Serfdom and social structure", p. 423.

<sup>25</sup> I.A. Balagurov, *Pripisnye krestyane Karelii*, Petrozavodsk, 1962, p. 28.

as the purely agrarian communities, but the relatively low proportion of marriages and the annual cycle of economic activities argue against this.

#### IV. The economic regions of Northern Russia in the 1830s

The above communities were chiefly ones lying on the western edge of Northern Russia. The whole region nevertheless comprised about 10 geographically uniform economic areas,<sup>26</sup> data on which would enable us to make some assumptions regarding household arrangements typical of the region as a whole. These areas are grouped into four larger entities for the purposes of the discussion below.

The first group consists of the banks of the River Sukhona and the upper reaches of the Northern Dvina, i.e. the western half of Vologda province. These districts lived by the commercial cultivation of grain and flax together with livestock husbandry. In the extreme southwestern corner, around the town of Vologda, agricultural serfs made up over 90% of the peasant population in 1858. Some of the men in the districts along the Sukhona waterway worked full time on the boats, in shipbuilding or in road transportation, and social stratification had proceeded to an advanced stage in the villages on the river bank. The great majority of the population of this economic area were state peasants, who observed the 1823 prohibition on the division of households without permission from the governor. Also, in spite of the accumulation of settlement along the river bank, occupationally differentiated and socially stratified villages were in the minority in this economic area, for the majority of the peasants pursued the same way of life as the inhabitants of the central Russian estate of Manuylovskoe.

The second fairly consistent area comprised the lower and middle reaches of the Northern Dvina and the Arctic Ocean coast from the boundary of the Kola Peninsula as far as the Mezen estuary. Throughout this area the villagers gained their living from sailing, fishing, trading and shipbuilding. The household arrangements of Kolehma may be regarded as typical of the coastal inhabitants in general. The third area then consisted of the eastern part of Vologda, the majority of that of Olonets, the interior of Archangel province south of the Kola Peninsula and the eastern districts of the same province south of the Arctic Circle, a somewhat inhomogeneous group. These areas had no handicrafts and their communications were poor. The people practised slash-and-burn cultivation and arable farming in spite of the unfavourable conditions, although the majority of their income came from hunting, fishing and the transportation

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<sup>26</sup> P.A. Kolesnikov, *Severnaya derevnya v XV - XIX v.*, Vologda, 1976, p.51; T.A. Bernshtam, *Pomory*, Leningrad, 1978, p. 54.

of goods. The western edges of Archangel and Olonets, which were inhabited by the Karelians, and the eastern part of Vologda, inhabited by the Komi-Zyryans, were socially fairly homogeneous areas in the early part of the century, whereas the banks of the great inland waterways were occupied by ethnic Russian communities with a social structure reminiscent of Suysar Severnaya.

The pattern encountered at Luza evidently also prevailed in Olonets, eastern Vologda and almost everywhere in the interior of Archangel. On the other hand, the communities of Oulanka, Paanajarvi, Rukajarvi and Vuokkiniemi in the interior area that opens up to the west of the White Sea demonstrate that there were also living arrangements that did not conform to the Luza pattern. The similarities between parishes belonging to different provinces indicate that the boundaries of the economic areas and administrative provinces did not coincide with those of the territory inhabited by the Karelians. It is simply that the economic areas were not defined on the grounds of nationality. The MHS for the village of Selki in Olonets province, neighbour to Rukajarvi, was 8.5 persons in 1873 (see Table 3 in appendix), a figure which, in view of the occurrence of the reform of land ownership and the juridical status of the state peasants in 1866,<sup>27</sup> represents in effect the pre-reform household arrangements. It is also evident that slightly different means of livelihood prevailed in these communities in spite of their geographical proximity, in that agricultural activities were more important in Selki than in Rukajarvi.

The fourth group of areas comprises the parts of Archangel North of the Arctic Circle. The north-western corner of the province, i.e. the Kola Peninsula, is represented here by the hunter-fisher community of Akkala. The Arctic Circle runs through the centre of Mezen and Pechora, i.e. the eastern districts of Archangel, which account for about half of its area. Agriculture is not possible at all in these districts, and the ethnic Russians and Komi-Zyryans who live in the villages all the year round engage in hunting, extensive reindeer herding and trade. There were also small ethnic groups living beyond the Arctic Circle who practised a nomadic way of life, but with reindeer herding methods and an annual rhythm that differed from the economic system of the Lapps of the Kola Peninsula.<sup>28</sup> Thus one cannot assume a priori that the living arrangements among these nomadic groups of the north-east corner of Archangel would have come anywhere near the pattern encountered among the Lapps.

By comparing the conclusions reached regarding the distributions of the household arrangements occurring in certain given economic and institutional frameworks with data on the location of settlement it is possible to determine what was typical of this region. Well over half of the peasants of the region in both 1811 and 1859 lived in Vologda province, and 93.7% of those doing so in 1811 lived in the economic area that comprised the banks of the River Sukhona

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<sup>27</sup> N.I. Golikova, "Reforma v derevne", in: T.V. Osipova, (Ed.), *Istoriya severnogo krestyanstva*, 2, Archangel, 1985, p. 164.

<sup>28</sup> V.A. Kozmin, *Olenevodcheskaya kultura Sibiri*, St. Petersburg, 2003, p. 131.

and the upper reaches of the Northern Dvina. Data on the population of the maritime areas of Archangel province are available for 1859, by which time 32.2% of the province's peasant population lived on the coast or on the lower courses of the great rivers.<sup>29</sup> These data give us reason to state that household arrangements of a type characteristic of agrarian communities must have been in the majority in Northern Russia. Even so, the fishing villages of the Arctic Ocean coast and the non-agrarian communities of the interior together accounted for at most one fourth of the population of Northern Russia.

## V. Household arrangements in the 1890s

The abolition of serfdom in 1861, the reforms of the state peasant and court peasant systems, the introduction of universal male conscription in 1874 and the re-direction of economic activities among the rural populations brought about major changes in the peasant way of life practically everywhere in Russia, and this process of change that began at different times and proceeded at different intensities in communities of different juridical status also affected family life. Examinations of aggregate statistics for Central and Southern Russia and case studies on the topic demonstrate that pre-mortem household divisions gained a firmer footing, leading to a drop in the MHS.<sup>30</sup>

Case studies in Central Russia combined with data on provincial and regional-level trends in the peasant economy give us reason to speak of a disappearance of the model that had prevailed before the reforms. Pre-mortem household divisions and the consequent simplification of the household structure created virtually the only pattern to be found in the rural areas of Central Russia by the end of the century.<sup>31</sup> The sample for Kostroma province taken to represent typical household arrangements for Central Russia in Tables 1 and 2 comes so close to the serf estate of Voshchazhnikovo in its characteristic features that it must be identified with the same model. The model that is familiar to us from Kostroma was to be found in situations of two kinds. Occupationally differentiated and socially stratified communities were typical of the Central Industrial Region and of the province of St. Petersburg, while in the provinces that were further away from the major centres agriculture and non-agrarian occupations that called for less advanced skills shaped the way of life along somewhat different lines from those found in the industrial provinces. In spite of these distinctions in the economic context, however, similar household arrangements prevailed throughout Central Russia. Having made these observations, we can now turn our attention to the Northern Region.

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<sup>29</sup> Kabuzan, *Izmeneniya*, p. 143; Kolesnikov, *Severnya*, p. 113; Bernshtam, *Pomory*, p. 88.

<sup>30</sup> Moon, *The Russian peasantry*, p. 172.

<sup>31</sup> Polla, "Family systems", p. 36.

The inhabitants of Akkala, who lived in 3-5 places in the course of a working year, stand out clearly from the other local communities, which, with the exception of the fishermen of Kolezhma, all practised agriculture to at least a certain extent and looked on themselves as peasant farmers. The Akkala pattern differed markedly from those of the other communities, justifying the decision to ignore this group when considering household arrangements in the peasant communities. MHS data are available for all the other nine communities, the figure being below six persons in five of them. The most information on communities with a low MHS is available for the fishing village of Kolezhma, the comparison of which with the Kostroma sample for 1890 is not greatly hampered even by the lack of data on five of the attributes. These communities so nearly coincided in terms of the proportion of households without a CFU, the proportion of multiple family households, MHS and the timing of household division that they undoubtedly represent the same pattern.

In the case of Suysar Severnaya we have no data on either economic activity or land ownership. The inhabitants' obligation to work at the nearby armaments factory was revoked in 1863, but it is known that arable farming accounted for only a small proportion of the income of the population of the countryside around this small industrial town. The proximity of the small town, the release of peasants from labour service and improved communications with St. Petersburg promoted a rapid growth in handicrafts, so that the rural inhabitants gained most of their income from this and migrant labour.<sup>32</sup> The MHS for Suysar Severnaya in 1905 was 5.1 persons, and the population conformed to the same pattern as that of Kolezhma. As shown in Table 2, the people of Alekino village made their living primarily from agriculture. Meanwhile, the unfavourable climate of Rukajarvi and Selki forced the peasants to take up fishing, forestry work and the transportation of goods. It was rare for people in these villages to do paid work in the towns. The people of Luza gained a living from agriculture and migrant labour. Luza had a MHS of 6.6 persons in 1877, very much higher than in the other communities in Olonets and Vologda.

The MHS data in Table 3 alone suffice to demonstrate that the westernmost parishes of Archangel province were an exception to the general pattern for Northern Russia. A comparison of the community of Vuokkiniemi with the sample from Kostroma shows that these are fairly similar. For one attribute there is no information available, and one, the pattern of household formation is common to all the communities examined in this paper, so that it warrants little attention here. Multigenerational households accounted for just under 40% of the total in both Kostroma and Vuokkiniemi, pre-mortem household divisions predominated, the multiple family structure was a regularly repeated phase in the life of the household, and the differences in the frequency of marriage were fairly small. On the other hand, only 1.7% of the households at Vuokkiniemi

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<sup>32</sup> N.A. Korablev, *Istoriya Karelii*, Petrozavodsk, 2001, p. 263.



were without a CFU, a criterion on which this community differ from Kostroma, coming closer to the agrarian communities of the period of serfdom. Also, there was a difference of almost 20% in the proportions of multiple family households between Kostroma and Vuokkiniemi. This difference indicates that Vuokkiniemi does not belong to the same pattern as the communities in the industrialized provinces. Unlike the situation in the other communities examined here, all the arable land in Vuokkiniemi was privately owned by the households and passed on through inheritance. A statute of 1886 forbade peasants from dividing their households until they had paid their redemption dues in full on the land they had received from the state.<sup>33</sup>

Compared with Kolezhma, Vuokkiniemi had a homogeneous social structure, although contemporary descriptions do not provide a reliable picture of the degree of social stratification that prevailed there. With only a few exceptions, the affluence of the households depended on the work being done by its members at that particular moment, and its accumulation for inheritance from one generation to the next was possible in practice only in the case of capital invested in a shop. Hundreds of couples and men who had married Finnish women moved to Finland from the Karelian villages from 1859 onwards, and this migration, which was closely bound up with shopkeeping, was an indication of the fact that the accumulation of wealth in Vuokkiniemi in the 1890s was not confined to isolated instances.<sup>34</sup>

Oulanka had a MHS and a proportion of multiple family households that were higher than in the other communities of Northern Russia. This must have been influenced in part by the labour-intensive nature of the reindeer herding practised in Oulanka. The arable land in Oulanka and Paanajarvi belonged to redistributational communes. Paanajarvi resembled the majority of the Karelian parishes of Archangel and Olonets in its means of livelihood, in that its foundation lay mostly in non-agrarian activities carried out beyond the boundaries of the parish itself.<sup>35</sup>

Although the land reform begun in the 1860s advanced slowly in Northern Russia, the process of separating the land to be handed over to the peasants from that remaining in the possession of the state had been completed in Olonets province and the majority of that of Vologda by 1897. The main barriers to implementation of the reform in the eastern districts of Vologda, i.e. in Ust-Sysolsk and Yarensk, and almost throughout Archangel province was the high incidence of slash-and-burn cultivation and the resulting special features of the peasant communities. Thus the peasants' land ownership and land utilization

<sup>33</sup> *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoy imperii*, seriya 3, tom 6, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 305.

<sup>34</sup> Mervi Naakka and Maiju Keynas, *Halpa hinta pitka mitta*, Helsinki, 1988, p. 52.

<sup>35</sup> Matti Polla, "Peasant households in Oulanka, Russia, 1710-1910", *The History of the Family*, 8, 2003, p. 170; I.A. Chernyakova, "Marriage behaviour in Karelian rural parishes", in: Kooji (Ed.), *Where the twain*, p. 115; Ibid., "Family in White Sea Karelia", in: T. Hamynen (Ed.), *Family life on the margins of Imperial Russia*, Joensuu, 2004, p. 302.

rights remained undefined almost throughout Archangel and the eastern parts of Vologda.<sup>36</sup>

The decades of ignorance of their rights and economic potential had affected the peasants' survival strategies, and thereby their living arrangements, in Luza, Oulanka and Paanajarvi. Thus one may deduce that the pattern observed there prevailed in the sparsely populated interior of Archangel and eastern Vologda. The low MHS encountered in the communities of Alekino, Rukajarvi and Selki would represent living arrangements typical of Olonets and western Vologda. Correspondingly, very much the same model as was found at Kolehma prevailed everywhere on the sea coast. Altogether there were 1,590,547 people living in Olonets province, the western and central parts of Vologda and the southernmost district of Archangel, i.e. Shenkursk, the areas where the land reform had been implemented, in 1897, amounting to 80.8% of the rural population of the Northern Region.<sup>37</sup> These data on the location of the population and the division of Northern Russia into economic areas justify us in claiming that MHS values of less than six prevailed in this region at the end of the century.

## VI. Identification of family systems and their geographical distribution

The small amount of material available on Northern Russia is unevenly distributed both temporally and spatially. If we are to attempt to reduce the cases described above to ideal types it is necessary to set out from the results obtained in the better studied region of Central Russia. Of the two serf estates representing this region in Table 1, the community of Manuylovskoe presents the following features: new households arose through the division of existing ones; multigenerational households accounted for 66.7% of the total; households without a CFU were entirely unknown; 80.8% of the households were of the multiple family type, the MHS was 8 persons, post-mortem household divisions were common, and complex household structures usually occurred on a permanent basis. The serfs of Manuylovskoe made their living mostly from agriculture and belonged to a redistributational commune. This combination of features, which can be referred to as an "agrarian-oriented family system", or Type 1,<sup>38</sup> is represented in the Northern Region by Luza.

The pattern typified by Voshchazhnikovo departed markedly from the above, as the members of this community married only after the age of twenty

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<sup>36</sup> Golikova, "Reforma v derevne", p. 165.

<sup>37</sup> N.A. Troinitsky, *Pervaya vseobshchaya perepis naseleniya: naselenie po uездam*, St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Polla, "Family systems", p. 39.

years, 19.0% of the households were complex in structure and the MHS was 4.8 persons, but post-mortem household division was again common. The economic and institutional context was characterized by a concentration on handicrafts and trade, a pronounced social stratification in the community and the fact that the serf's land use decisions were made by the landlord. This "handicrafts, trade and suburban family system", indicated in Figure 2 as Type 2, is represented in Northern Russia by Suysar Severnaya.

A system existed in Vuokkiniemi in the 1840s departed from both of the above. It was characterized by formation of a new household by division of an existing one, 97% of the inhabitants married by the age of 30 years, first marriage at an age of over 20 years, 30.5% of households of the multigenerational type, 1.6% of households without a CFU, 50.8% of households of the multiple family type, a MHS of 6.9 persons, a predominance of post-mortem household divisions and the multiple family structure as an essential stage in the life-cycle of the household. These features occurred in an environment that involved a concentration on non-agrarian activities, private ownership of the cultivable land, social homogeneity, lack of occupational differentiation and the inhabitants all having the status of state peasants. This pattern may be referred to as an "agricultural, migrant labour and hunting family system" and labelled as Type 3.

Another family system to emerge from the Arctic area is that of Akkala, which cannot be assigned to any of the above types. Its salient features are that about 90% of the inhabitants had married by the age of 30 years, it was quite unknown for a household to exist without a CFU, 55.6% of the households were of a multiple family structure and the MHS was 7.1 persons. The environment in which this system prevailed was characterized by a nomadic existence involving 3-5 places of residence in the course of a year, hunting, fishing and reindeer herding as the principal sources of livelihood, social homogeneity and a lack of occupational differentiation. This may be termed the "hunting and fishing family system", or Type 4.

We can now move on to the question of the geographical distribution of the individual family systems. Since life in the communities of Manuylovskoe and Luza was based on agriculture backed up with non-agrarian activities, one may speak of a mixed agrarian-oriented family system. The geographical area covered by this system in Central and Northern Russia as a whole in the 1830s is shown in Figure 2. By contrast, the communities of the Voshchazhnikovo type in the Central Industrial Region together with Suysar Severnaya represent the handicrafts, trade and suburban family system. The fishing village of Kolezhma cannot really be regarded as a variation on Type 2, however, although it comes closer to this than to any other family system described here. Oulanka, Paanajarvi, Rukajarvi and Vuokkiniemi represent the agricultural, migrant labour and hunting family system, and Akkala is the single representative of the hunting and fishing type. In addition to these patterns, there were various nomadic

groups inhabiting the north-eastern parts of Archangel province whose living arrangements at that time are largely unknown, hence the question mark against the distinction between the arctic area bordering on the Ural Mountains and the remainder of Northern Russia in Figure 2.

All the local communities in the north during the period 1873-1905 can be assigned to the above four family systems, with Alekino, Kolezhma, Rukajarvi, Selki and Suysar Severnaya representing the handicrafts, trade and suburban family system. Luza, Oulanka, Paanajarvi and Vuokkiniemi represent the agricultural, migrant labour and hunting model. The exceptional household arrangements for the Northern Region encountered in these communities in 1890 may be attributed to the less precisely defined principles of land ownership and utilization rights. This family system prevailed over the majority of Archangel and in the eastern districts of Vologda, the exceptions being the southernmost district of Archangel and the western and central parts of Vologda, where the agrarian reform had been implemented, the sea coast and the Arctic inland areas. Features common to virtually the whole of Archangel and the eastern part of Vologda were the necessity for practising agriculture in spite of its low profitability and the juridical irregularities that further detracted from agricultural production. The northwestern corner of the region was characterized by the hunting and fishing family system.

The data on the location of the population in 1897 presented at the end of section IV allow us to conclude that the vast majority of the peasants of Northern Russia were living in communities characterized by a handicrafts, trade and suburban family system.

## VII. Concluding remarks

The statements made in the previous section should not be interpreted, however, as suggesting that the agrarian-oriented family system was replaced by the handicrafts, trade and suburban system over the majority of Northern Russia between the years 1830 and 1897. It would be more correct, perhaps, to say that most of the local communities that had represented Type 1 in the 1830s experienced considerable changes in their household arrangements over the next 60-70 years. The approach adopted in this paper does not actually allow the process of change to be studied in any of the communities concerned, but it is the case that changes in the economic and institutional context caused the majority of the communities assigned to Type 1 in the 1830s to conform to Type 2 in the 1890s. Household arrangements over the majority of the region simply altered so markedly that the local communities that had belonged to the one type in 1830 had to be classified as representing the other in 1897. It should be remembered, however, that the family system typical of a given community during a given period of time is such a complex social phenomenon

that the nine attributes listed in the section II are scarcely adequate by themselves to describe it in a comprehensive manner.

The results regarding Northern Russia concur in general terms with the views of Moon and Mironov reviewed at the beginning of this paper. Although the sparsely populated Northern Region is indeed a marginal one in relation to European Russia as a whole, it does provide two previously undescribed patterns. These can be regarded as independent family systems alongside those that occurred more widely in the Russian Empire.

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## Appendix

Table 1: Characteristics of the family system in the local communities representing Central and Northern Russia, 1830-1900

### Annotations:

*Classes c3-c7* correspond to Laslett-Hammel household classification scheme (see Hammel and Laslett, "Comparing household structure", p. 96).

\* – SMAM denotes 'singulate mean age at marriage' (see H.S. Shryock and J.S. Siegel, *The methods and materials of demography*, London, 1976, p. 167).

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Table 2: Economic and institutional contexts of the family systems in the local communities representing Central and Northern Russia, 1811-1905

### Abbreviations:

Man. – Manuylovskoe; Oul. – Oulanka; Paan. – Paanajarvi; Ruk. – Rukajarvi; Suys. Sev. – Suysar Severnaya; Vosh. – Voshchazhnikovo; Vuok. – Vuokkiniemi



Sources:

For Akkala: Kuropyatnik, "Household arrangements", p. 248; for Alekino: O.V. Artemova, "Alekin" in: M.A. Beznin (Ed.), Vologda, 2, Vologda, 1997, p. 275; for Kolehma: Regional archives of Archangel, Russia. Collection 1, inventory 4, part 2, item 53; Korablev, Pomorye, p. 30; Shikalov, Karjalan, p. 82; for Luza: Solovyev, "Semya", p. 38; G. Yershov, Volosti i vazhneyshie seleniya: Priuralie, St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 230; V.V. Shangina, "Khoziastvo 1861-1917", in: V.I. Chuprov (Ed.), Istoriya Komi, Syktyvkar, 2004, p. 406; for Manuylovskoe: Bohac, Family, property, and mobility, p. 20, 88, 133; for Oulanka: Polla, "Peasant households", p. 169; for Paanajarvi: Chernyakova, "Marriage behaviour", p. 115; Chernyakova, "Family", p. 295; for Rukajarvi: Polla, Vienankarjalainen, p.131; for Suysar Severnaya: I.A. Chernyakova, "Istoriya", in: T.V. Krasnopolskaya (Ed.), Selo Suysar, Petrozavodsk, 1997, p. 54; Balagurov, Pripisnye, p. 252; ; for Voshchazhnikovo: Dennison, Economy and society, p. 41; Ibid., "Serfdom", 405; for Vuokkiniemi: Matti Polla, Vienankarjalainen 1600-1900, Helsinki, 2001, p. 123; Ibid., "Characteristics", p. 218; for Kostroma sample: Worobec, Peasant Russia, p. 112.

Table 3: Mean household size in the local communities representing Northern Russia, 1811-1905

Sources:

For Akkala: in 1830 and 1890: Kuropyatnik, "Household arrangements", p. 248; for Kolehma: in 1838: Regional archives of Archangel, Russia. Collection 1, inventory 4, part 2, item 53; in 1859: Y. Ogorodnikov, Spiski naselenykh mest, 1, St Petersburg, 1861, p. 15; in 1905: Shikalov, Karjalan, p. 82; for Luza: in 1834: Solovyev, "Semya", p. 38; in 1877: Yershov, Volosti, p. 230; for Oulanka in 1830, 1858, 1890 and 1910: Polla, "Peasant households", p. 169; in 1877: Yershov, Volosti, p. 270; for Paanajarvi: in 1834, 1858 and 1900: Chernyakova, "Family", p. 295; for Rukajarvi: in 1832: Polla, Vienankarjalainen, p. 612; in 1897: Russian state historical archives, St Petersburg. Collection 1290, inventory 11, item 1505; for Selki: in 1873 and 1897: A.P. Sannikova, "Karelskaya semiya", Sovetskaya etnografiya, 4, 1970, p. 99; for Suysar Severnaya: in 1811: Chernyakova, "Istoriya", p. 54; in 1905: I. Harkonen, Itainen vartio, Helsinki, 1920, p. 363; for Vuokkiniemi: in 1840, 1877, 1890 and 1910: Polla, Vienankarjalainen, p. 591.

Table 1: Characteristics of the family system in the local communities representing Central and Northern Russia, 1830-1900

Region Local community	Central Mamuy- lovskoe	Voshch.	Northern Akkala	Vuokki- niemi	Central Kostroma Sample	Northern Akkala	Kolezhma	Vuokki- niemi
Year	1833	1832	1830	1840	1890	1890	1900	1890
Number of households	126	201	18	118	62	24	?	404
A. Method of household formation								
a1. Fission or fusion of existing households	Always	?	?	Always	Always	?	?	Always
a2. At marriage of head	Never	?	?	Never	Never	?	?	Never
B. Procreational and demographic features								
b1. Average age of females at first marriage	?	20.7 *	?	20.4	?	?	?	21.7
b2. Average age of males at first marriage	?	25.4 *	?	22.9	?	?	?	25.6
b3. % of women married aged 30+	?	over 85.0%	about 90%	99.3%	90.3 %	?	?	89.9 %
b4. % of men married aged 30+	?	over 95.5%	about 90%	97.3%	100.0%	?	?	88.6 %
b5. Average age gap between spouses at first marriage	?	Considerable	?	?	?	?	?	3.5
b6. % of wives older than husbands	?	Rare	?	?	?	?	?	?
b7. Remarriage of widows (% of all marriages)	?	?	?	1.2%	Sometimes	?	?	Rare
b8. Remarriage of widowers (% of all marriages)	?	?	?	6.2%	Sometimes	?	?	Sometimes
C. Household structure								
c1. % of households comprising only relatives	?	Frequent	83.3%	86.4%	100.0%	78.3 %	?	94.6 %
c2. % of households with 3 or 4 generations	66.7%	?	?	30.5%	37.1 %	?	?	39.5 %
c3. % of solitaires	0.0%	6.0%	0.0%	0.8%	4.8 %	0.0 %	8.4 %	0.2 %
c4. % of households containing no CFU	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	0.8%	1.6 %	0.0%	1.9 %	1.5 %
c5. % of simple family households	11.1%	41.0%	11.1%	31.4%	46.8 %	29.2 %	?	37.9 %
c6. % of extended family households	8.0%	30.0%	16.7%	14.4%	20.9 %	12.5 %	?	14.9 %
c7. % of multiple family households	80.8%	19.0%	55.6%	50.8%	25.8 %	50.0 %	24.5 %	43.7 %

Table 1 continued

Region	Central		Northern		Central	Northern		
Local community	Manuy- lovskoe	Voshch.	Akkala	Vuokki- niemi	Kostroma Sample	Akkala	Kolezhma	Vuokki- niemi
Year	1833	1832	1830	1840	1890	1890	1900	1890
D. Organization of work and welfare								
d1. Mean household size	8.0	4.8	7.1	6.9	5.0	7.1	5.6	7.2
d2. % of households with over 15 members	?	0.0 %	Sometimes	3.4%	Never	Sometimes	?	4.7 %
d3. Mean number of persons of working age (15-65) per household	over 2	?	over 2	over 2	1.6	?	?	over 2
d4. Addition of life-cycle servants to household	?	Rare	?	?	Occurs	?	?	Sometimes
d5. Addition of married farmhands to household	?	Rare	?	?	Occurs	?	?	Sometimes
d6. Head of household a proletarian	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Occurs	Occurs	?	Sometimes
d7. Retirement of head of household	Very rare	?	?	?	?	?	?	Sometimes
E. Household developmental cycle								
e1. Frequency of pre-mortem division	?	Rare	?	Rare	Frequent	?	Frequent	Frequent
e2. Frequency of post-mortem division	Sometimes	Frequent	?	Frequent	Occurs	?	Occurs	Rare
e3. Presence of married cousins in same household	Sometimes	Very rare	?	Never	Never	?	?	Rare
e4. Multiple family household as one phase of development	Frequent	?	?	Frequent	Frequent	?	?	Frequent
e5. Multiple family household a permanent situation	Sometimes	?	?	?	Never	?	?	?
e6. Mean age of head of household	?	?	?	?	40.2	?	?	?
e7. % of households headed by a woman	Rare	45.0%	?	14.3%	40.3 %	Occurs	?	?

Table 2: Economic and institutional contexts of the family systems in the local communities representing Central and Northern Russia, 1811-1905

Region	Central				Northern				Central										
Local community	Man.	Vosh.	Akka- la	Kole- zhma	Luza	Oul.	Paan.	Ruk.	Suys. Sev.	Vuok.	Kost- roma	Aleki- no	Kole- zhma	Luza	Oul.	Paan.	Ruk.	Suys. Sev.	Vuok.
Year	1833	1832	1830	1838	1834	1830	1834	1832	1811	1840	1890	1905	1900	1877	1890	1900	1897	1905	1890
No. of households	126	201	18	90	600	63	77	102	23	118	62	77	?	818	169	?	225	25	404
A. Features of family system																			
a1. Mean household size	8.0	4.8	7.1	6.8	8.5	6.5	6.8	6.3	5.9	6.9	5.0	5.1	5.6	6.6	8.2	6.8	5.2	5.0	7.2
a2. Households with 2 or more CFUs	80.8%	19.0%	72.2%	?	?	57.1%	?	46.0%	?	50.8%	25.8%	?	24.5%	?	49.1%	?	?	?	43.7%
a3. Households with 2 or more married couples	?	?	?	?	at least 45.5%	?	at least 37.6%	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
a4. Prevailing timing of division	Post.	Post.	?	?	Post.	Post.	?	Post.	?	Post.	Prem.	?	Prem.	?	Prem.	?	?	?	Prem.
B. Economic context																			
b1. Main income from agriculture	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
b2. Occupational differentiation	?	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
b3. Arable farming	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
b4. Livestock rearing	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
b5. Hunting and fishing	?	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	Yes	?	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	Yes
b6. Migrant labour	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	?	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
b7. Cottage industries	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	?	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	?	No
b8. Factory work	?	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
b9. Trade	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	?	?	Yes	?	?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	?	Yes

Table 2 continued

Region	Central		Northern												Central											
Local community	Man.	Vosh.	Akka- la	Kole- zhma	Luza	Oul.	Paan.	Ruk.	Suys. Sev.	Vuok.	Kost- roma	Aleki- no	Kolez hma	Luza	Oul.	Paan.	Ruk.	Suys. Sev.	Vuok.							
Year	1833	1832	1830	1838	1834	1830	1834	1832	1811	1840	1890	1905	1900	1877	1890	1900	1897	1905	1890							
b10. Paid labour	?	Yes	?	Yes	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	?	?	Yes							
b11. Households without land	?	?	?	?	No	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Yes	No	?	?	?	?	?							
b12. Completely nonagrarian households	?	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	?	?	?	?	Yes	No	?	?	?	?	?							
C. Institutional context																										
c1. Compulsory cultivation	?	Yes	No	No	No	?	?	?	?	No	?	?	No	?	?	?	?	?	No							
c2. Redistr. commune	Yes	No	Yes	?	Yes	No	?	?	?	No	?	Yes	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	No							
c3. Equal. distr. of land	?	No	Yes	?	Yes	No	?	?	?	No	?	Yes	?	?	?	?	Yes	?	No							
c4. Private land ownership	No	No	No	?	Yes	Yes	?	?	?	Yes	?	Yes	?	Yes	?	No	No	?	Yes							
c5. Purchase or rent of additional land	?	No	No	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Yes	?	Yes	?	?	?	?	?							
c6. Collective taxation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	Yes	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	?							
c7. Equally shared male inheritance	?	?	?	?	?	No	Yes	Yes	?	Yes	?	?	?	?	No	Yes	Yes	?	Yes							
c8. Use of paid labour	?	Yes	?	Yes	?	?	?	?	?	?	Yes	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	?	?	?							
c9. Social stratification	?	Yes	No	Yes	?	No	?	No	?	No	?	?	Yes	?	No	No	?	Yes	Yes							

Table 3: Mean household size in the local communities representing Northern Russia, 1811-1905

Local community	1810s	1830s	1850s	1870s	1890s	1900s
Akkala		7.1			7.1	
Kolezhma		6.8	6.5		5.6	
Luza		8.5		6.6		
Oulanka		6.5	9.8	8.3	8.2	7.5
Paanajarvi		6.8	8.8			6.8
Rukajarvi		6.3			5.2	
Selki				8.5	5.9	
Suysar Severnaya	5.9					5.0
Vuokkiniemi		6.9		6.7	7.2	7.9